1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Nowadays, the black, woollen, half-sleeved gown is coming into fashion. Every Coorg who can afford it sports it at festivals, dances, and weddings. It has become a mark of wealth and status, and the white cotton gown which has superior ritual status is becoming almost a symbol of poverty. But even now the subject of a *mangala*, as distinct from others who are not as important, wears a white gown. Any suggestion that he should discard the white gown in favour of the black would meet with opposition from one and all. It may be mentioned here that the hero Kaiyandira Appayya, to whom reference has already been made, was prohibited from doing a number of things which an ordinary Coorg did, such as handling a plough, eating bamboo shoots, and wearing a black gown. He was required to wear a white gown always.

The corpse, which is in some respects treated as similar to the subject of a *mangala*, is dressed in a white gown, but with the underside on top if it is going to be cremated, and with the left side over the right if it is going to be buried.

Formerly, mourners also wore the white gown, but in a particular way: the right hand did not pass through the right arm of the gown, but instead it was allowed to hang limp from the right shoulder. The gown was secured at the waist by a black sash instead of a red one.

The white gown is worn on all important ritual occasions. Ritual occasions are either auspicious or inauspicious, and there is need to differentiate between them. Hence, though the subject of *mangala*, corpse and mourner, are all dressed in a white gown, the mode of wearing it is different in each case. The subject of *mangala* wears it in the normal way, while in the case of a corpse it is reversed, and in the case of the mourner the right arm drops loosely from the shoulder.

Nowadays, however, all active mourners wear a white waist-cloth (*muṇḍu*) and shoulder-cloth (*tuṇḍu*). In the case of women mourners, two of the four corners of the shoulder-cloth are tied in a knot in front in such a way that the breasts are covered. A waist-cloth and shoulder-cloth are normally the ritual dress of Hindus in Malabar.

either party. Between Mercara and the Wynāḍ border, in Kiggaṭnāḍ, only the bride wears a veil, and the groom removes her veil prior to consummating the marriage on the second night. The veil is generally uncommon among Hindus in south India and is worn only by the women of the ruling castes. It is likely that the women of the royal families in pre-British Coorg wore the veil regularly.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

XIV

533 A band is considered essential to every ritual occasion: at *mangalas*, calendar festivals, and festivals of village-deities a band plays most of the time.

[585] A close relative comes to a wedding accompanied by his own band. He must be received by the hosts with band, and again, when he departs, the hosts must accompany him a little distance with their band leading the way. When the relative finally takes leave of the hosts he pays the latters' band three *paṇas*, one for the men blowing the horns, another for the pipers, and the third for the drummers.

[764] Relatives coming to pay their last respects to the dead man are also required to be accompanied by their band. If they are not accompanied by their own band, they arrange to hire the services of the local band, at some distance from the mourning-house.

[765] A band plays before a mourning-house too, but the beat (*chāvu paré* = death-beat) employed on this occasion is distinctive, and it may not be employed on an auspicious occasion.

533 The presence of a band testifies to the social importance of the
585 occasion or person. A wedding at which there was no band would
[556] be inconceivable to a Coorg. Again, if at a wedding an important guest were not received with a band, he would regard it as an insult. Coorgs have an elaborate code of courtesy, and this has to be scrupulously observed.

[574] The *okkas* of the bride and groom have each to give several dinners during the wedding. These dinners are of two kinds: one in which the chief guests are the members of the particular bridal party's own village, and another in which the important guests are from other villages.

621 The above distinction is important, as it throws light on the
585 social structure. A village forms a unity, and ideally speaking it is
574 not only the bride's (or groom's) *okka*, but her (or his) entire village which ought to act as hosts. Formerly they did not sit down to dinner with the guests from other villages, but waited on the latter along with the members of the host *okka*. They sat down to dinner later.

On the day before the wedding, every house in the village has to send one man and one woman to the bridal house to help in the wedding work. They have to do every kind of work which the

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

known *okkas* such as the Koḷandēra, Manḍepanḍa, Maneyapanḍa, and Koravanḍa have no ancestor-shrines.

Originally, odd stones embedded in earthen platforms built round the trunks of trees seem to have represented the ancestors everywhere in Coorg Proper, but later the ancestor-shrine seems to have replaced the earthen platforms in certain houses. The richer Coorgs then seem to have increasingly taken to such shrines: Moegling writes, 'those who cannot afford to build a *kaimaḍa* make a sort of mud bank for the purpose called *kōṭa* under a tree in the fields where the family's first house stood'.[1] It is likely that the possession or lack of an ancestor-shrine soon came to indicate, in certain areas, the economic and social position of an *okka*.

The next step in the elaboration of the *kaimaḍa*-complex was the building of special shrines for ancestors who died on the battle-field. Yet another step was taken when a sculptured image representing an ancestor or an ancestor's benefactor was placed in the ancestor-shrine. For instance, the chieftain Achchu Nāyaka was helped by the Kannaḍa ruler of Piriyāpaṭṇa, Nanjunḍa Arasu (*c.* 1670), to regain his chieftaincy. The grateful Achchu Nāyaka built a shrine in which sculptured images of himself and his benefactor were placed.

In the ancestral house of the Kōḍanḍa house in Kaḍanga Marūr village there are two tombs built over the graves of two ancestors who attained to very high positions in the service of the Rājas. These tombs have been built just outside the ancestor-shrine, and are crowned with figures of the Nandi Bull, the 'vehicle' of Shiva. Tombs, and especially tombs crowned with figures of the Nandi Bull, are very popular among the Lingāyaṭs of south India. Coorgs who were in the employment of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas borrowed the customs, manners, and ritual of their rulers.

During festivals like harvest festival, and at marriage, a little meat curry and rice are offered on a plantain leaf to the ancestors. A leaf-cup of arrack is also kept on the plantain leaf. The ancestors consume the essence of the offering and thereby consecrate it. All over Hindu India food, or any article which has been offered to a deity, is called *prasāda*, and worshippers have to partake of the *prasāda*. Food which is offered to a deity is later distributed among the worshippers, who eat it. Where flowers which have been placed

[1] Ibid., pp. 62–68. By 'family's first house' Moegling obviously means the ancestral house.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

During the harvest festival a party of villagers go from house to house, and at each house they visit they sing the 'house song', which gives an account of the ancestors of that house. After the song is sung, the singers are treated to refreshments and given gifts of money.

The singers are required to visit the village-headman's house first. Similarly, the people who put on fancy dress during the harvest festival have to visit the village-headman's house first.

For a week before the beginning of the harvest festival all the adult males in the village gather together at the village-headman's house every evening before proceeding to the green to practise the dances and play some games. The guests are treated to a light repast, after which the headman asks someone to take up a *duḍi* (small drum) and sing. The person who is asked to sing may not refuse, and refusal is punishable by fine. Even the temple-headman is not exempt from this rule.

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival, the villagers frequently move about in processions during the last few days of the festival. At the head of these processions walks the *nāḍ*-headman's wife carrying a dish-lamp. A dish-lamp has ritual value, and it is essential on every ritual occasion, and it is the privilege of the *nāḍ*-headman's wife to carry it at the festival of Kundat Bhadrakāli.

The political and economic forces set in motion in the last 120 years have been responsible for certain structural inconsistencies coming to the surface during festivals. It was not always the headman's *okka* which benefited from the new economic and educational opportunities. The *okkas* which benefited from the latter could ignore with impunity the headman's position and authority. Frequently the headman accepted the changed situation, and this not only failed to solve the conflict for supremacy between him and the newly rich *okkas* but instead accentuated it. The latter, having secured wealth and official positions, tried to secure headmanship too. Disputes became frequent.

The breakdown of the traditional economy meant that frequently the headman could not fulfil the duties of hospitality periodically required of him; and when the headman was unable to perform his duties, he found it difficult to insist on others performing their duties towards him. People began to gravitate to the new centres of power, the officials and rich men.

Formerly, people used to take their disputes to their headman

596 [607] [173] [578] generally well guarded in the use of proper expressions in their talk with the young. The educated men of the present day exercise a potent influence for good in the normal conversation, and show due respect to their brother's wife with whom no familiarity is allowed. There is a tendency at present among the discontented members to break up the ancestral family by a division of the family property among the members.

Property and Disposal

423 425 177 The property of the Coorgs consists chiefly of the ancestral house and the land belonging to it which under the Rajas was held on a feudal tenure and on a light assessment termed *jamma bhumi* or birthright land, because it was inalienably vested in the family or house, and the British Government confirmed the settlement. Additional land was taken up by them on the *sagu* tenure, but, in course of time, Government allowed to some extent such *sagu* land to be converted into *jamma* land. Other land held as jagir was granted for certain Government service as *umbli* land on a light assessment. During the last thirty years, many houses have opened out coffee plantations on their own or Government land, or rented cardamom jungles. Thus the actual wealth of the 434 421 Coorgs consists of landed property and their prosperity depends on the 596 exertions and means of cultivation; but imprudent enterprises and unexpected reverses have caused much embarrassment. Formerly, all the [556] members of a Coorg house lived together in the ancestral home or in some outfarm, *koppu*, neither of which could be alienated nor subdivided among the members of the family. All of them worked for the common good under the management of the *yajamana* or *korakara*, and had their subsistence on the proceeds. Any surplus on the annual reckoning became [433] the property of the house for providing incidental expenditure on the occasion of marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, as also for the purchase of new land in the interest of the family. If, however, an individual member by becoming a salaried officer or by coming into possession of money through marriage, was enabled to enter upon private speculation without any aid from the ancestral house, any property or acquirements thus made became his private property and were left at his own disposal by gift or will. Many young men have thus become [591] separated from the ancestral house and established a new homestead, and as long as they contributed to the expenses of the former, they maintained [182] their share in the proceeds. This is the proper mode of setting up a new house. Disintegration is now setting in, and some try to break up the ancestral houses by a division of the landed property among the members.

Adoption

597 The right of adoption is given to every Coorg house in the absence of male issue, or by an unmarried man or woman or widower in order to secure the inheritance of personal property or rights.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

natives; but the handlabour of two coolies for turning it appears to them too severe and impracticable for large quantities of paddy. A winnowing machine would find greater favour. 243 [179]

The cultivation of Cardamom is to a great number of Coorgs next in importance to that of rice, and the possession of a fine cardamom jungle is regarded as a mine of wealth. In the time of the Coorg Rajahs and for some time after, cardamoms were a Government monopoly, and the cultivators had to sell their produce at a fixed rate to the Sircar, receiving from 12 to 20 rupees per maund of 40 seers dry capsules. Now the jungles are held from the state on a lease of 10 years, at 3 lacs of rupees, but this revenue to Government has not yet reached the amount, cleared by the Rajahs which, owing to their monopoly of selling the spice, rose as high as 80,000 rupees per annum! Any jungles that are not disposed of at the lease-auction, are worked by the ryots for Government. 249 [556] [655]

The Cardamom plant (Elettaria cardamomum *Kg.* yćlaki) grows spontaneously in the evergreen forests or Malcs along the Ghat-line and its spurs at an elevation of from 3,000 to 5,000 feet. Still, nature requires a certain stimulus to produce the plant in greater abundance and this is effected by a singular process, but though perfectly empirical on the part of the natives, no doubt it is based on a natural law which holds good in many other instances, where seed is kept in the ground in a state of vitality for a long period, till such a change in the climatic condition is brought about, as will favour its germination and subsequent growth. Of many other instances besides the cardamom, I need only mention: the Mexican thistle (Argemone Mexicana), the white weed (Ageratum cordifolium) and the charcoal tree (Sponia Wightii), all of which spring up spontaneously on newly cleared or broken, but favourable soil.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

292 the same time gives vent to their vexation at the intractability of these rude mountaineers.

The head with its raven-hair is covered by a white muslin or coloured kerchief, one end of which encircles the forehead and the two corners are joined together at the back, allowing the rest of the cloth to fall gracefully over the shoulders. 301 The wealth of a Coorg family is displayed by the richness of [556] the ornaments of the women. Glass, silver or gold bracelets of a simple description span their wrists; their neck is decked with chains of coral, pearls or gold from which are suspended old Portuguese gold coins. Even the nose and the outer rein[1] of the ears are ornamented with pretty jewellery in gold, pearls and precious stones, and also silver rings are worn on the toes.

292 The white festive gowns of the men, as well as the ker-
531 chiefs of the women, are skilfully embroidered along the seams and in the corners with red marking cotton and the patterns of native design are often very elegant. The Coorg women esteem their own embroidery more than Berlin work, as the former unlike the latter shows the pattern equally well on both sides.

462 As for industry the Coorg women deserve high praise. They rise early and besides cooking and other domestic work, they bear a large share in the labours of the farm. The men plough the fields, transplant and reap the rice; the women carry manure, weed, fetch home and clean the paddy. The [357] men do no menial work, they leave that to their women and [562] to their servants, whilst they enjoy a dignified repose, dis- [554] cussing the affairs of the house and chewing betel, or stitching a piece of clothing in which art many are as expert as professional tailors, others, gun on shoulder, wander through the jungles in search of game, but the height of their ambition is to figure in the capacity of a Government Official in the administration of their country.

[1] [Errata; This should read "rim". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473--Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 Government *English School* is a temporary building near the
368 Bangalow and a more commodious and substantial School-
house should be erected. Of the four *tanks* belonging to the
632 town, Gauri-kere contains the purest water. It is at the
312 head of the Petta and was excavated by the orders of Dodda-
[789] Vírájender, the founder of Vírájpet. At the expense of Pál-
[783] pare Rudaya it was repaired some years ago, but people being
allowed to wash and bathe in the tank, the wholesomeness of
the water must be greatly impaired, and Gauri-idol$\frac{1}{\Lambda}$ which is
annually thrown into it at the Gauri-feast will not restore
its purity! Good drinking water, but in a small quantity, is
obtained from an enclosed spring at the foot of the Bangalow
632 hill, close to the paddy fields. The site of Vírájpet being very
245 rocky, the industry of the people in economising every foot
of cultivable land is very remarkable, but the destruction of so
many coffee and orange trees by the Borer has considerably
marred the once luxuriant vegetation in and around Vírájpet.
In the principal street there are a few straggling cocoanut
trees, but the climate is not congenial to a fertile growth.

635 Communication with the eastern portion of the taluq and
491 with Mysore is maintained by two bandy roads, one through
Cólepet, Anandapur and Siddápur, the other towards Bittan-
gala and Hattúr.

635 ***Kiggatnád-taluq*** extends with its four Náds over the
[634] whole of south-eastern Coorg and covers an area of 400 square
[131] miles with 63 villages and the rising town Ponappet. The
taluq contains 17,650 inhabitants, of whom 5,480 are Coorgs,
[162] 5,709 other Hindus and 5,818 Jungle people, such as
[563] Kurnbas and Yeravas; of the rest 417 are Mussulmans and
223 Amma-Codagas. Upon the whole the people of this
taluq may be said to be in easy circumstances, as they are
well provided with the necessaries of life. With the excep-
● [556] tion of the large and influential house of the late Deván
Chepudira Ponnappa but little disparity in point of wealth

1/1 [Errata: This should read "and the Gauri-idol" see corrigenda, Cat. 116, P. 979 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

exists amongst the ryots. The Kiggatnád rice-fields are extensive and fertile, the grass-lands parklike, the mountain streams numerous, and the forests and jungles rich in valuable timber and bamboos. The Marenád- and Brahmagiri-hills with their cascades of the Barapolle and Laksmanatírtha are picturesque and their shólas and dense forests give cover to a variety of game. Many of the undulating grass-hills (Báne), being almost bare of trees and free from stones, seem admirably suited for dry cultivation, besides there are large pieces of other waste land; but the population is rather scanty and hardly sufficient for the cultivation of their rice-fields, since the abolishment of slavery. There are both European and native coffee-plantations in the Marenád-hills; but the natives seem to derive the greater profit from them. This taluq is in great want of good roads. There is only the military highroad from Periapatna to Cannanore, which is joined at the Gonikopal bridge by a branch road leading to Ponnappet; a trace has been cut to the Taluq-Kacheri and on to Kúrchi to connect Coorg with Wynád, but the work has been stopped. From Marenád a steep ghat, called the Mépalé-ghat, leads into the Malabar country and is used by the Lumbánies and Koramárs, who once a year carry rice from and salt into Coorg. A footpath leads into Wynád over the Brahmagiris by way of Tiranelli.

The south-eastern corner of Kiggatnád is unhealthy and strangers can scarcely be induced to settle there, in spite of the nearness of Kuttadámma's famous sanctuary, which cannot render the place more salubrious; fever, spleen and dropsy are the local diseases.

The Taluq-Kacheri is in *Hudikéri*. The place is well selected, being central and in a healthy locality on the top of a beautiful grass hill, whence a fine view of the Brahmagiris and Marenád-hills is obtained. An English School has been lately established and is promising well.